

FULL TEXTS OF THE OLD AND NEW STATUTES OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

[The following report is a comparison of the PZPR (Polish United Workers Party) Statute adopted at the First Party Congress in December, 1948, and the statute adopted at the Second Party Congress in March, 1954.

The statute adopted at the Second Party Congress is presented in full in the left-hand column as it appeared in the Warsaw daily newspaper, Zolnierz Wolnosci, on 19 March 1954.

Passages of the old statute equivalent to those of the new statute, and those of the old statute with no corresponding passages in the new statute, are presented in the right-hand column as they appeared in the pamphlet O Statucie PZPR (About the PZPR Statute), published at Warsaw in 1950.

The comparison has been made paragraph by paragraph, and although original paragraph numbers and letters have been retained in the old statute, the order has been changed to present equivalent passages side by side. Identical paragraphs are so marked.

The following abbreviations are used in this report:

KPP - Komunistyczna Partia Polska, Polisk Communist Party

PPR - Polska Partia Robotnicza, Polish Workers Party

PPS - Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, Polish Socialist Party

PZPR - Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, Polish United Workers Party

 $\ensuremath{\mathtt{RPPS}}$ - Robotnicza Partia Polskich Socjalistow, Worker Party of Polish Socialists

SDKPiL - Socjaldemokracja Krolestwa Polskiego i Litwy, Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania

WKP(b) - Wszechzwiazkowa Partia Komunistyczna (bolszewikow), All-Soviet ;.

ZMP - Zwiazek Mlodziezy Polskiej, Union of Polish Youth

ZSCh - Zwiazek Samopomocy Chlopskiej, Union of Peasant Self-Help]



The Polish United Workers party is the leading organized segment of the Polish working class, the outstanding force of the Polish nation. The Polish United Workers Party is the highest organized form of the working class and the representative of the interests of the people working in the towns and villages.

The Polish United Workers party is guided in its actions by the teachings of Marxism and Leninism.

The Polish United Workers Party is the heir of all the best traditions of fighters of the Polish nation fighting for freedom and social progress.

The Polish United Workers party is the heir of the revolutionary traditions of the Polish worker movement--the First Proletariat, SDKPiL, KPP, PPR, and the leftist united front movement of the PPS.

The Polish United Workers Party leads the nation on the road prepared for the people by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The historic victory of the USSR over Nozi fascism and the liberation of the nation from the yoke of Nazi occupation made possible the seizure of authority by the working people, with the working class at its head, and the creation of a people's democratic state.

THE STATULE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY ADOPTED AT THE FIRST PARTY CONGRESS, DECEMBER 1948

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The Polish United Workers Party is the heir of the revolutionary traditions of the Polish worke: movement, the First Proletariat, the SDKPiL, the KPP, and the leftist movement of the PPS.

The Polish United Workers Party bases its actions on the ideological gains of the PPR, which stood in the forefront of the battle for the liberation of the nation and society during the Nazi occupation, prepared conditions for the seizure of power by the masses under the direction of the working class, and, after the expulsion of the occupants, led the battle for the establishment of the people's lemocracy, the breakup of reactionary forces, and the realization of revolutionary social changes

The Polish United Workers Party accepts the gains of the restored PFS, which, having denounced the reformism and nationalism of the prevar PPS and having adopted the best traditions of the leftist movement of the PPS

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The establishment of the United Polish Workers Party put an end to the split of over a half century in the ranks of the working class, and was a victory for Marxism and Leninism over reformism and nationalism.

The establishment of the Polish United Workers Party increased the strength of the working class and elevated the working class to leadership of the working people in the struggle to strengthen the people's democratic state, to solidly establish the independence of Poland, to break the resistance of capitalist forces supported by imperialism, and to build socialism.

The Polish United Workers Party constantly strengthens the worker-peasant union, the indispensable basis and chief principle of the people's authority; it tightens the cooperation between the town and the village; it directs the struggle of the small and medium peasants against kulak exploitation, looking forward to its complete liquidation; it strives for the creation of conditions for the gradual and voluntary transfer of the peasant masses to socialist economy, and for rapid and notable improvement in the welfare and culture of the village.

The Polish United Workers Party unites the intelligentsia with the mass of the people in the building of socialism, in bringing education and culture to everyone, and in the development of science and art.

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and the RPPS, has supported the unity of the working class, and has made an outstanding contribution to the struggle with reaction and in the building of the people's democracy in Poland.

The establishment of the United Polish Workers Party put an end to the split of over a half century in the ranks of the working class. It signifies the victory of Marxism and Leninism over reformism and nationalism in the Polish worker movement.

The establishment of the Polish United Workers Party is increasing the strength of the working class and is elevating the working class to leadership of the working people in the struggle to strengthen the people's democratic state, to solidly establish the independence of Poland, to break the resistance of capitalist forces supported by imperialism, and to build socialism.

The Polish United Workers Party stands for the worker-peasant union; it directs the struggle of the small and medium peasant against capitalist exploitation, looking forward to its complete liquidation; it strives for the creation of conditions for the gradual and voluntary transfer of the peasant masses to socialist economy.

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The Polish United Workers Party plans to assure the worker, peasant, and intellectual youth with education, work, and all-around development; it supports the ZMP, the organization for the mass political education of the youth of the town and village.

The Polish United Workers Party follows a policy of full equality for women by making possible work and activity in all fields of state, economic, and social life, and through constantly more extensive state care for the mother and child.

The Polish United Workers Party fights to unite all patriotic forces of society within the ranks of the National Front for the good of People's Poland and its development and progress, for the struggle for peace among nations, and against all temptations by enemties of the Polish nation, including the remains of capitalism within the country and the enemy forces of imperialism.

The Polish United Workers Party acts in accordance with principles of international worker solidarity and draws on the experiences . the Polish and international movement, especially the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the leading segment of the world worker movement and the organizer and leader of the victorious socialist revolution and the building of Communism in the USSR.

The Polish United Workers Party Indissolubly unites the consolidation of independence and the building of socialism in Poland, with the struggle of the international camp of democracy and socialism, led by the USSR, against the enemy forces of imperialism and fascism, and for peace, freedom of nations, democracy, and socialism.

The Polish United Workers Party plans to assure the worker, peasant, and intellectual youth with education, work, and all-around development; it supports the ZMP, the leading organization of the young generation.

The Polish United Workers Party is striving for full equal rights for women, for the admission of women to work and activity in all fields of state, economic, and public life and for the extension of care for the mother and child by the state.

The Polish United Workers Farty cooperates with parties in the democratic camp for the general good of People's Poland, its development and progress.

The Polish United Workers Party acts in accordance with principles of international worker solidarity and draws on the experiences of the Polish and international movement, especially the experiences of the WCP(b)--the leading segment of the world worker movement and the organizer and leader of the victorious revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR.

The Polish United Workers Party indissolubly unites the consolidation of independence and the development toward socialism in Poland, with the struggle of the international camp of democracy and socialism, led by the USSR, against the enemy forces of imperialism and fascism. and for peace, freedom of nations, democracy, and socialism.

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The historic gains of the Polish working people achieved under the leadership of the Polish United Workers Farty have been consolidated in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic-The Magna Carta of the liberties of the Polish nation.

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 $T^{\rm he}$ Polish United Workers Party constitutes a united, fighting organization which constantly strengthens its working class lever, and draws strength from within its ranks, from unity of will; and from unity of action.

The present main tasks of the Polish United Workers Party are to build a socialist society, to assure a constant growth in the well-being and culture of the working class and the whole working population of the town and the village through the unceasing development of production based on constantly immroving technology, to educate the members of society in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, and to strengthen the people's state and defense of the fatherland.

- I. Party Members, Their Duties, and Their Rights
- A party member is anyone who accepts the principles of the party aims and the statute of the party, works in on of its organizations, is governed by party decrees, and pays party dues.
 - 2. The duties of a party member are as follows:
- a. The tokes ar active part in the political life of the party and the country. He fights sacrificingly for the cause of the working people against

The Polish United W .kers Party constitutes a united, fighting organization which draws its strengthfrom within its ranks, from unity of will, and from unity of action.

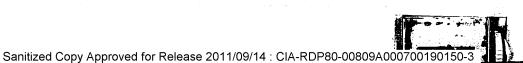
The ranks of the Polish United Workers Party are bound by an equal discipling and by sacrificing work for the realization of the tasks that face the party.

The aim of the Polish United Workers Party is the building of a socialist system in which the exploration of man by man will be eliminated.

- I. Party Members, Their Duties, and Their Rights
- A party member is anyone who accepts the principles of the party aims, works in one of its organizations, is governed by party decrees, and pays party dues.
 - 2. The duties of a party member are as follows:

a. He takes an active part in the political life of the party and the country. He fights sacrificingly for the cause of the working people against

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explciters, imperialism. fascism, and reaction; he strengthens the international solidarity of the working world; he faithfully serves People's Poland and the cause of socialism.

- b. He guards the unity of the party as the main principle of party strength and fighting ability.
- c. He puts party policy into practice in his community and place of work, attends meetings of his party organization, and executes decreer of party authorities. He not only accepts the decrees but must rut them into practice, since a passive and formal attitude by party members to party decrees weakens the fighting ability of the party.
- d. He unceasingly tries to strengthen the ties of the party with the working class and with the whole working population; he is constantly concerned for their needs; he explains to the nonparty masses the content of party policy and decrees; he organizes the people to fight for the fulfillment of the tasks presented by the party.
- e. He obevs state and party discipline, which is equally binding on all party members. The party has one discipline and law for all its members regardless of service or position.
- f. He guards the purity of party ranks and strives for the high moral level of a party member.
- g. He works constantly to improve his political education; he masters the principles of Marxism ana Leninism, which should be a guide for the actions of each party member.

exploiters, imperialism, fascism, and reaction in all forms; he strengthens the international solidarity of the working world; he faithfully serves People's Poland and the cause of realizing socialism.

- b. He puts party policy into practice in his community and place of work, attends meetings of his party organization, obeys party discipline unconditionally, and guards the unity and purity of party ranks.
 - c. /Identical7

d. [Identical.]

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- h. He develops criticism and self-criticism from below; he exposes deficiencies in work and fights for their removal; he combats smugness, self-praise, and overconfidence. The suppression of criticism causes great harm to the party and should be categorically condemned.
- i. He must excel in his professional work and by his cwn example encourage nonparty people to increase their productivity and work discipline; he constantly improves his professional qualifications; he guards the socialist factory and socialist property as a sacred and inviolable basis for the development of the state and as a source of wealth and strength for the fatherland.
- j. He notifies the directing party organs, including the party's Central Committee, of deficiencies in work, regardless of the person who is the cause of it. A party member cannot conceal an evil situation or close his eyes to wrongdoings which damage party or state interests.
- \ensuremath{k} . He must be sincere and honest to the party and not conceal or distort the truth.
- he must be vigilant against the temptations and activity of the enemy and guard party and state secrets.
 - A party member has the following rights:
- a. He can speak up at party meetings and in the party press on matters pertaining to the party.
- b. He can discuss and criticize the work of any party member and activist at party meetings.

e. He must excel in his professional work and by his own example encourage nonparty people to increase their productivity and work discipline; he constantly improves his professional qualifications; he guards the socialist factory and the national wealth.

3. [Identical.]

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- c. He takes an active part in elections and can be elected to party authority.
- d. He has the right to be present at party meetings which evaluate his activity or progress.
- 4. Party enrollment is based on the following principles:
- a. Party members are only accepted individually. A member may be a worker, a small or medium peasant, an intellectual, or any working person who is active and progressive, enjoys the confidence of his community, and is devoted to the cause of socialism.

The minimum membership age is 18 years. Youths up to 20 years of age are drawn into party membership exclusively from the ranks of the ZMP.

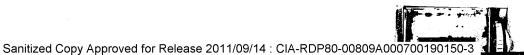
b. Acceptance into party membership follows a period as a candidate. The candidate period is necessary to train the candidate in the fulfillment of the duties of a party member, to determine his political and moral outlook by the party organization, and to familiarize the candidate with the political line and the party statute. The party organization must aid the candidate in his preparation for enrollment into the party. The candidate period is one year. In exceptional cases, the candidate period can be shortened to 6 months on the basis of a legal decree of the pertinent party organization. The decree must be confirmed by the Powiat Committee.

 $\ensuremath{4}.$ Party enrollment is based on the following principles:

a. [Identical.]

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c. After the candidate period, the candidate submits a written declaration requesting party membership, enclosing two written recommendations by party members of at least one year's standing. Members of the Central Committee and their deputies do not give personal recommendations.

c. [Identical.]

d. The acceptance of a candidate into the party should be discussed and decided in his presence at a general meeting of the primary party organization after his work and behavior during the candidate period have been reviewed. The presence of the sponsors is not necessary. If the candidate was not able to prove himself worthy by his work, for reasons which the party organization recognizes as legitimate, the primary party organization can extend his candidate period for not more than one year. If, however, his candidate period shows that the candidate is not worthy of party membership, the party organization issues a decree striking him from the candidate roll. The decrees of the primary party organization for extending the period of candidature, or for striking the candidate from the roll of candidates, become lawful after confirmation by the Powiat Committee.

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a. The acceptance of a candidate into the party should be discussed and decided in his presence at a general meeting of the pertinent party organization (sectional—in production plants and institutions, commune—in the village, and local) after his work and behavior during the dandidate period have been reviewed. The presence of the sponsors is not necessary. The organization issued a decree of acceptance into the party, postponement of acceptance, or removal from the roll of candidates.

In a given locality where only a group of candidates exists, the acceptance decree is issued by the appropriate party committee.

In a given locality where only a group of candidates exists, the acceptance decree is issued by the ${\tt Gmina}$ Committee.

The decree accepting a candidate as a party member becomes lawful after confirmation by the Powiat Committee, after which the new party member receives his membership card.

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Party membership time is counted from the day the general meeting of the primary party organization issues the decree accepting the candidate into party membership.

- e. The party member who gives a personal recommendation for a candidate should have known the candidate for at least one year and should be convinced that he is recommending a valuable commade to the party. A party member who makes a recommendation lightly or in bad faith is held responsible by the perty.
- 5. The method of accepting candidates is the same as with members. This means individual acceptance, recommendations by two party members with a minimu. of one year's membership, a decree by the primary party organization for acceptance as a candidate, and confirmation by the Powiat Committee.

After confirmation of the decree of acceptance for candidature by the Poviat Committee the candidate is given a candidate membership card.

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Where there is no party organization in the locality of the prospective candidate, the decree of acceptance for candidature is passed by the next higher party committee.

6. A candidate for party membership pays dues, takes part in the work of his party organization equally with party members, and takes part in the meetings with an advisory vote, but cannot elect or be elected to party authority.

- e. The party member who gives a personal recommendation for a candidate should know the candidate well and should be convinced that he is recommending a valuable comrade to the party. A party member who makes a recommendation lightly or 'n bad faith is held responsible by the party.
- 5. The method of accepting candidates is the same as with members. This means individual acceptance, recommendations by two party members with a minimum of one year's membership, a decree by the pertinent party organization for acceptance as a candidate, and confirmation by the Powiat Committee.

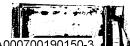
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!"here there is no party organization in the locality of the prospective candidate, the decree of acceptance for candidature is passed by the Gmina Committee.

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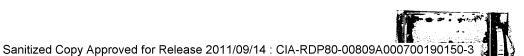


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- 7. A party member (candidate) who changes his place of employment or residence becomes enrolled as a member (candidate) in the party organization of the new area. The transfer of party members (candidates) from one organization to another is executed in a manner established by the Central Committee.
- 8. A party member who does not take active part in party life over an extended period of time, does not take part in the organizational work of the party, and shows an indifferent attitude to the party can be expelled from the party. A decree of expulsion from the party requires confirmation by the Powiat Committee.
- A party member (candidate) who, without legitimate reason, has not paid his dues over a period of 3 months, ceases to be a party member (candidate). A decree on this matter should be issued by the pertinent party organization and confirmed by the Powlat Committee.
 - II. Procedure Against Party Members Who Violate Party Discipline
- 10. Party members (candidates) who violate party discipline, disturb party unity, shirk party duties, or give a bad name to party mambershim by their actions will be held responsible for their actions by the party.
- 11 Party organizations apply the following punishments to guilty party members (candidates): reminders, reprimands, reprimands with a warning, temporary removal from responsible party, social, or professional work, the trensfer of a member into the candidate ranks, or expulsion from the party.

- 7. A party member (candidate) who changes his place of employment or permanent residence should notify the secretary of his party organization and report to the party organization in the new area. The proper party documents should be transferred through the party organizations.
- 8. A party member can be transferred to the candidate 11st by a decree of his party organization. This decree becomes lawful after confirmation by the Powiat Committee.
 - 9. [Identical.]
 - II. Procedure Against Party Members Who Violate Party Discipline
 - 10. [Identical.]
- 11. Party organizations apply the following punishments to guilty party members (candidates): reminders, reprimands, reprimands with a warning, temporary removal 'rom responsible party, social, or professional work, or expulsion from the party.

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12. Expulsion from the party is applied to members who do not act in accordance with policy plans and the basic party line, who violate the statute, have a two-faced attitude toward the party, or perform acts contrary to party ethics either in political or private life. Expulsion is carried out by a decree issued at a meeting of the party organization to which the member (candidate) belongs. The expulsion decree comes into force after confirmation by the Powiat Committee. The expellee must currender his party card.

Matters which require longer prosecution are invertigated by the Party Control Commission, which has the right to issue expulsion decrees. Special cases of party expulsion are reserved also for the Poviat Committee, Wojewodztwo Committee, and the Central Committee. An expulsion decree issued by a Powiat Committee comes into force after confirmation by the Wojewodztwo Committee.

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Party expulsion is the highest party lunishment and must be used only in cases of serious infractions; therefore, in meting out this punishment one must be guided by the full realization of this responsibility after a thorough verification and review of the accusations. A report of the expulsion should be given to the party organization from which the member was expelled.

13. In cases of serious infractions which the party does not consider sufficient for expulsion from the party, the demotion of a member of a candidate for a period not longer than a year may be applied.

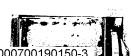
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A decree by the primary party organization demoting a member to a candidate requires confirmation by the Powiat Committee. After the prescribed time, the member can be reinstated according to general rules.

- 14. In cases of minor infractions, other party punishments can be used as set forth by the statute.
- 15. An appeal from party punishment can be made to the next higher party level, which should investigate the matter and hand down a decision or direct the appeal to the Party Control Commission within a month.
 - III. The Structure of the Party Organization and Internal Party Democracy
- 16. The structure of the party organization is based on the principle of democratic centralism.

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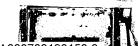
- a. All directing party authorities, from the lowest to the highest, are elected in a democratic manner.
- b. All party authorities are required to make periodic reports to their party organizations.
- c. Observance of party discipline and subordination to the majority will is binding without exception.

In cases of minor infractions (for example, missing party meetings, tardiness in paying party dues, etc.), other party punishment and training means provided for in the statute must be applied.

- 13. The member who has been expelled by the party has the right of appeal to a higher party level, which must investigate the matter and hand down a decision or direct the appeal to the Party Control Commission within a month.
 - III. The Structure of the Party Organization and Internal Party Democracy
 - 14. /Identical.
 - a. /Identical./
 - b. /Identical./
 - c. _Identical_7

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d. Decrees and directives of higher party authorities must be unconditionally executed by the lower ones.

17. All party or anizations and authorities independently issue decrees on matters pertinent to their jurisdiction. These decrees cannot be contrary to the general line of the party or to the decrees of higher party authorities.

18. The structure of the party organization is divided on a production-territorial basis as follows:

Wojewodztwo organizations and the municipal organizations of Warsaw and Lodz.

Powiat organizations, the municipal organizations autonomous cities and the precinct organizations.

Municipal organizations in nonautonomous cities.

Primary party organizations: institutionalin enterprises and institutions, rural--in villages, and local--in residential localities.

19. The highest party authorities are:

- For the primary party organization--the general assembly.

d. /Identical./

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16. The structure of the party organization is divided as follows:

Wojewodztwo organizations and equivalent municipal organizations in Warsaw and Lodz.

Powiat organizations, equivalent municial organizations in autonomous cities, and precinct organizations in Warsaw and Lodz.

Gmina organizations and equivalent municipal organizations in nonautonomous cities, as well as precinct organizations in autonomous cities.

Primary party organizations: institutional--in production plants and institutions, rural--in villages, and local--in residential localities.

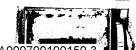
17. The highest party authorities are:

For the primary party organization—the general assembly.

. For the gmina organization—a general assembly or a gmina conference.

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For the powiat, precinct, municipal, wojewodztwo organizations--powiat, precinct, municipal, wojewodztwo conferences.

For the whole party--the congress (Zjazd).

20. The congress, the party conference, or a general assembly of members elects a committee or an executive unit as its executive organ, which directs the operation of the party organization.

The inviolable principle of party leadership is the principle of collectiveness, which gives the maximum guarantee of proper decrees and assures a wide initiative among the party's active members.

- 21. Slate elections are forbidden in the election of party authorities. Elections should be for individual candidates, and all members have the unconditional right to propose opponents to the candidates and to criticize them. Elections of party authorities are secret.
- 22. Party committees call councils of the party's active members to discuss important party problems.
- 23. Unrestricted and creative criticism and selfcriticism, resulting from the party's internal democracy, is a necessary condition for party development, and an enlightened rather than's mechanical discipline in its ranks.

Every member is guaranteed the right of appeal in defense of his position to the next higher party level, up to and including the congress.

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/Identicel. ("Kongres" used for "congress.")/

- 18. The congress, the party conference, or a general assembly of members elects authorities, who direct the work of the party organization.
- 19. In the election of party authorities, every participant at a meeting, or delegate at a congress or conference, has the right to nomirate candidates and to oppose candidates according to the basic rules.

Elections of party authorities are secret. Candidates are elected according to the number of votes.

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- 21. [Identical.]

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Internal party democracy cannot be used for purposes contrary to the interest of the party and the working class, and especially for any divisive artivity.

IV. The Highest Party Authorities

?4. The highest party authority is the congr as \mathbb{Z}_{jazd} .

The regular party congress is called by the Central Co.mittee every 3 years. Information on the duration of the congress, the location, and the agenda is published by the Central Committee in the party press not later than 2 months before the opening of the congress.

A special congress is called by a decree of the Central Committee or at the request of at least one third of the total number of party members.

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25. Delegates of party organizations are elected to the congress by party conferences and have a deciding vote. Members of the party invited by the Central Committee can take part in the congress in an advisory capacity.

26. The congress must have a quorum of the representatives of at least one half of the party members to be valid. The Central Committee establishes representation norms for each congress in accordance with the principles of internal party democracy.

IV. The Highest Party Authorities

22. The highest party authority is the congress $\overline{\text{Kongres}^{\prime}}$.

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A special congress is called by a decree of the Central Committee or at the request of at least one half of the party's wojewodztwo committees.

23. /Identical./

24. [Identical.]

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27. The congress:

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a. Reviews and approves the report of the Central Committee and other central party organs.

b. Decrees the party program and statute.

c. Draws up the party political line and tactics.

d. Elects the Central Committee and the Central Audit Commission, and determines the number of members and alternates in the Central Committee and the number of members in the Central Audit Com-

e. Can make decisions in any other matter.

28. The Central Committee can call a national party conference during the intercongress period to discuss actual problems of party policy. Delegates chosen at plenary sessions of powiat committees participate in the conference. Election regulations are drawn up by the Central Committee for each national party conference.

29. The Central Committee is the highest party authority during the intercongress period and directs all the work of the party.

The Central Committee represents the party The Central Committee represents the party externally, establishes party institutions and guides their activity, names the editorial board of the party press, directs the party cadres, and administrates the next finds and treasury 25. The congress:

a. /Identical./

b. Decrees (or changes) the party programs and statute.

c. Zidentical.7

d. Elects the Central Committee, the Central Party Control Commission, and the Central Audit Commission and determines the number of members and alternates for

e. /Identical_7

26. [Identical.]

27. [Identical.]

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The Central Committee directs and controls the activity of party members in leadership positions of a nation-wide scope.

Plenary meetings of the Central Committee are held as needed but not less than once every 4 months.

The Central Committee reports regularly on its activities to the party organizations.

30. The Central Committee appoints a political bureau to direct the work of the Central Committee during the time between the plenary meetings, and a secretariat to direct the work primarily concerned with organizing control over the execution of party decrees and the selection of cadres. The numerical composition of these organs is determined by the Central Committee.

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- 31. The Central Committee has the right to recall any of its members if they do not carry out their duties, and to replace them by alternate members of the Central Committee. These changes cannot exceed one fifth of the composition of the Central Committee elected by the congress.
- 32. The Central Committee establishes appropriate divisions as auxiliary organs to implement decrees of party authorities in specific fields.
- 33. The Central Committee has the right to create political divisions and to call on party organizers to strengthen political leadership and activity in particularly important fields in the building of socialism.

The political divisions act on special instructions approved by the Central Committee.

_Identical_7

Plenary meetings of the Central Committee are held as needed but not less than once every 3 months.

- 28. The Central Committee appoints a political bureau, a party secretariat, and an organizational bureau to direct the political, routine, and organizational activity of the party. The Central Committee determines the numerical composition of these organs. The Central Committee elect. the chairman and secretaries of the Central Committee.
 - 30. [Identical_7
 - 29. [Identical.]

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34. The Central Committee appoints the Central Party Control Commission of the Central Committee.

The Central Party Control Commission:

- a. Protects the purity of party ranks, controls the enforcement of party discipline by members
 and candidates, and calls to account those guilty of
 disturbing the party's program and statute, state and
 party discipline, and party ethics (deceiving the party,
 dishonesty and insincerity toward the party, suppresion of crit'rism, slander, bureaucracy, an immoral way
 of life, etc.).
- b. Reviews appeals from decrees of local party authorities on expulsion and other party punish-

IJ

c. Appoints wojewodztwo party control commissions and, in case of need, powiat control commissions, with the approval of the Central Committee; the wojewodztwo party control commissions act under the direction of the Central Party Control Commission.

- 31. The Central Party Control Commission:
- a. Protects the purity of party ranks and the ideological outlook of party members.
- b. Calls to account those guilty of violating party discipline or principles of party ethics.
- c. Controls the work of local party organizations through the Central Committee.
- d. Appoints wojewodztwo party control commissions in agreement with the wojewodztwo committees, and in case of need, powiat control commissions; the wojewodztwo party control commissions work closely with the wojewodztwo committees, but organizationally are subj. to the Central Party Control Commission.

The Central Party Control Commission works under the direction of the Central Committee. The Central Committee has the right to change the personnel of the Central Party Control Commission at the request of the commission, but this change will not exceed one third of its total membership.

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35. The Central Audit Commission controls the efficiency and the method of expediting party organizational matters, audits the transactions of the Central Committee's financial and economic organization, and watches over the economy of central party institutions.

V. Wojewodztwo Party Organizations

36. The highest authority of the wojewodztwo party organization is the wojewodztwo conference and, in the interconference period, the wojewodztwo committee. The wojewodztwo committee acts in accordance with the spirit of the decrees of the Central Committee and under its direction.

37. The wojewodztwo committee calls a wojewodztwo reporting end election conference once a year, and special wojewodztwo conferences on the basis of a decree of the Central Committee or the wojewodztwo committee, or at the request of one third of the total membership of the wojewodztwo party organization. Delegates are chosen at powiat and municipal conferences according to representation norms set by the wojewodztwo committee.

38. The wojewodztwo conference reviews and approves the report of the wojewodztwo committee; it discusses the most important problems of the activities of the party, the people's councils, the economic and state apparatus, and the trade unions in the wojewodztwo area; it elects the wojewodztwo committee, composed of 29-51 members and 11-15 alternates, and the audit commission, composed of three members and three elternates

32. The Central Audit Commission checks the operation of the Central Committee's financial and economic organization and watches over the economy of the central party institutions.

V. Wojewodztwo Party Organizations

33. [Identical.]

34. The wojewodztwo committee calls a wojewodztwo conference at least once a year. Delegates are chosen at powiat and municipal conferences according to the representation set by the wojewodztwo committee.

35. The wojewodztwo conference reviews and approves the report of the wojewodztwo committee; it discusses the most important problems of party activities in the wojewodztwo area; it elects the wojewodztwo committee, comnosed of 29-51 members and 11-15 alternates, and the audit commission composed of three members and three alternates.

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39. The wojewodztwo committee elects an executive unit as its executive organ, composed of 11-15 members, including 3-5 secretaries.

A plenary meeting of the wojewodztwo committee is called not less than once every 2 months; meetings of the executive unit of the wojewodztwo committee not less than once a week.

than once a week.

40. The wojewodztwo committee directs the work of the wojewodztwo party organization, makes certain the party decrees and directives are executed, guarantees conditions for the free development of criticism and self-criticism and trains party members in the spirit of uncompromising attitude against all faults and indifference, directs the Marxist-Leninist training of party members and candidates, organizes the work of the socialist education of the working masses, especially the youth, directs the editorial staff of the wojewodztwo party press organ, directs the activity of party members in administrative positions in public organs of authority and organization, administers the party resources and funds in its area, and systematically informs the Central Committee of its activities.

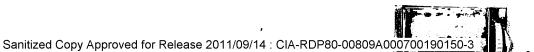
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36. The wojewodztwo committee elects an executive unit composed of 11-15 members, including a first secretary and 2-4 secretaries, to carry out its routine party activities. It also appoints special divisions in agreement with the Central Committee.

The wojewodztwo committee directs the work of the wojewodztwo party organizations, adminiscers the party cadres within its organizational area, directs editorial board of the party's press organ, and admin-isters the party funds and treasury.

37. Zidentical.7

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VI. Powiat Party Organizations

41. The powiat reporting and election conference is called by the powiat committee once yearly; a special powiat conference can be called by a decree of the Central Committee, the wojewodztwo committee, the powiat committee or at the request of one third of the total membership of the powiat party organization. Delegates chosen by primary party organizations, according to representation norms established by the powiat committee in agreement with the wojewodztwo committee, take part in the conference.

42. The powlat conference reviews and approves the report of the powlat committee; it discusses the most important problems concerning activities of the party, the people's councils, the economic and state apparatus, and the trade unions in the powlat area; it elects the powlat committee, composed of 21-33 members and 7-11 alternates, and the audit commission, made up of three members and three elternates.

33

43. The poviat committee elects an executive unit of 7-11 members, including secretaries.

VI. Powiat Party Organizations

38. The highest authority of the powiat party organization is the powiat conference, and during the interconference period, the powiat committee.

The powiat committee acts in accordance with the spirit of the decrees of the higher party authorities and under the direction of the wojevodztwo committee.

- 39. The powiat committee calls a powiat conference at least once a year, after agreement with the wojewodztwo committee. Delegates chosen by primary party organizations, according to rules established by the powiat committee in agreement with the wojewodztwo committee, take part in the conference.
- hO. The powiat conference reviews and approves the report of the powiat committee; it discusses the most important problems of party work in the powiat area; it elects the powiat committee, composed of 21-33 members and 10 alternates, and an audit committee of three members and three alternates.
- 41. The powiat committee elects an executive unit of 7-11 members, including a first and second secretary, to carry out routine party work. It also appoints instructors.

42. The powiat committee directs the work of the powiat party organizations, administers the party cadres within its organizational area, and administers the party resources and treasury.

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A plenary meeting of the powiat committee is called not less than once a month, and meetings of the executive unit of the powiat committee not less than once a week.

43. [Identical.]

The powiat committee acts in the spirit of decrees of higher party authorities under the direction of the wojevodztwo committee.

tion of the wojewodztwo committee.

44. The powiat committee directs the work of the powiat party organization, supervises the execution of party directives and decrees; issues directives for the establishment of primary party organizations, directs their activity, maintains records of party members, guarantees conditions for the free development of criticism and self-criticism and the education of party members in the spirit of an Unicompromising attitude toward all faults and indifference, organizes the Marxist-Leninist education of party members and candidates, conducts the socialist education of the working masses; especially the youth, directs the activity of party members in positions of leadership in public organs of authority and organization, administrates party resources and funds in its area, and systematically reports on its activities to the wojewodztwo committee.

The gmina party organization was abolished shortly before the congress.

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VII. Gmina Party Organizations

44. The highest party authority of the gmina party organization is the general meeting or gmina conference, and in the interconference period the grina committee.

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The gmina committee acts in the spirit of decrees of the higher party authorities and under the direction of the powlat committee.

45. The gmina conference, or a general election meetin chooses a gmina committee, with the approval of the powlat committee, not less than once yearly. Delegater village party organizations or all the gmina organizations, ake part in the conference. The procedure for calling the conference is determined by the gmina committee in agreement with the powlat committee.

46 The gmina conference reviews and approves the report of the gmina committee, discusses the most important party problems in the gmina area, and elects the gmina committee of 7-15 members.

The gmina committee elects a secretary and deputy secretary, who must be approved by the powiat committee.

VIII. Gmina and Precinct Party Organizations

47. Party organizations in εutonomeus cities have the rights of powlat organizations. Party organizations in nonautonomous cities have the rights of gmina organizations.

48. Party organizations in larger cities are divided into precinct party organizations.

Precinct party organizations in cities with ganization.

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VII. Omina and Precinct Party Organizations 45. Party organizations in autonomous cities have the rights of powlat organizations.

A Central Committee decision divides party organizations in larger cities into precinct party organizations, which have the rights of powiat organizations.

Adjoins page 24 here.7

Precinct party organizations in other larger cities have the rights of gmina party organizations.

46. Party organizations in nonautonomous cities elect a municipal committee of 7-15 members at a municipal conference. Delegates of primary party organizations, or the total membership, take part in the conference, depending upon the numerical strength of the municipal organizations.

The municipal committee acts according to the decrees of party authorities under the direction of the Powlat committee.

The municipal committee elects secretaries, who must be approved by the powiat committee.

25

VIII. The Primary Party Organization

47. The primary party organization is the basic organizational unit of the party. Every member (candiate) of the party belongs to a primary party organization.

The primary perty organization, which has a minimum of three party members, is established in industrial plants, state farms, state MTS, and other economic enterprises, in villages, producers cooperatives, offices and institutions schools, and military units.

IX. The Primary Party Organization

49. The primary party organization is the basic organizational unit of the party. Every member (candidate) of the party must belong to a primary party organization.

 $\qquad \qquad \text{The primary party organization must have at least three members.} \\$

Party members working in factories, mines, enterprises, state farms, offices, institutions, etc. establish institutional primary party organizations in the institution in which they are employed.

Party rembers living and working in a village establish village primary party organizations within their village.

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Party candidates in enterprises and localities where there is no party organization are placed in a group of party candidates under the direction of a party member chosen by the powiat committee.

Primary party organizations and candidate groups can be organized only by a decree of the powiat

48. Party-ZMP groups, which will include party members (candidates) and ZMP members, can be organized in enterprises, institutions, and localities which have less than three party members (candidates) by a powlat

49. The primary party organization unites the party and its leadership with the masses of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia.

8

The tasks of the primary party organization include:

a. Organizing the activity of all party mem-bers to implement party policy in its area.

b. Enlightening workers, peasants, and working intelligentain to accept the party policy and slogans, and organizing them for the fulfillment of the tasks presented by the party.

Party candidates in localities which do not have a party organization are placed in a group of party candidates under the direction of a party member appointed by the gmina committee.

Primary party organizations and candidate groups can be organized only by a decree of the Powiat committee.

The territorial limits of a local party or-oanization are determined by a municipal or precinct

50. The primary party organization unites the party and its leadership with the working class and the masses of the people.

The party leads working people in their fight to realize the party program through party members organized in the primary party organizations.

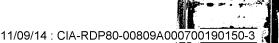
The tasks of the primary party organization include:

a. Organizing the activity of all party members to implement the party line in its area.

b. Enlightening nonparty workers, peasants, and working intelligen sia to accept the party line and slogans, and mobilizating them for the fulfillment, of the tasks presented by the party.

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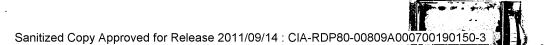


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- c. Accepting party members and candidates and conducting their political training.
- d. Working to increase the political and ideological enlightenment of party members and candidates and their mastery of the basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.
- e. Leading the working masses in the fulfillment of economic plans, increasing productivity and work discipline, and developing work competition.
- f. Maintaining constant concern for the improvement of the material and cultural living conditions of the working masses and for supplying their daily needs.
- g. Condemning excesses, waste, and bureaucracy and fighting against inefficiency in its area.
- h. Combating reactionary propaganda and economic damages, and sharpening the vigilance of the masses against all activities of internal and external enemies of People's Poland.
- Showing concern for the development and proper activities of the trade unions, cooperative organizations, and other social organizations.
- $j_{\,\cdot\,}$.Encouraging criticism and self-criticism and training members in the spirit of an uncompromising attitude toward all faults and indifference.
- $\ensuremath{k}\xspace$. Showing care for the political, moral, and professional training of youth.

- h. Accepting new party members (candidates).
- i. _Identical.7
- c. *Identical.7
- d. [Identical.]
- e. Condemning excesses, waste and bureucracy in its area.
- f. Combating reactionary propaganda and economic damages, and sharpening the vigilance of the masses against all activities of the enemies of the working class and People's Poland.
- g. Showing concern for the development and proper activities of the trade union, the institutional council, local cooperatives, and other social and economic organizations.
- Showing care for the political, moral, and professional training of the working youth.

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50. In order to increase the role of the primary party organization and its responsibility for the work of an enterprise, these organizations have the right to control the administrative activity o. production, transportation and trade enterprises and of state MTS and state farms.

Party organizations in ministries, offices, and state institutions strive to perfect the administrative apparatus, to strengthen work discipline, to combat bureaucracy and excesses, and to point out to higher party authorities and directors of ministries, offices, and institutions the shortcomings of these institutions. Party organizations in these institutions do not have the right of control.

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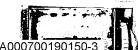
51. Institutional party organizations in plants and enterprises (factories, mines, railroad shops and junctions, state farms, etc.) direct the social, political, and economic life of the institutions to ensure the fulfillment of basic party and government directives.

Party organizations do not take part directly in the administration of institution-administration belongs exclusively to the management; but they do implement directives of higher economic organs within the institutions. In cases of disagreement with the management, the party organization has the right to appeal to higher party and economic organizations—this does not however, prevent the execution of administrative regulations. The party organizations takes an active part in the formulation and execution of economic plans and is held responsible by the party for their execution and for the material and social conditions of the working personnel. At its meetings, the institutional party organization hears reports by the administration on the fulfillment of production plans and economic status of the institution, and issues decrees aimed at the best possible fulfillment of the tasks assigned to the institution by the party and the government.

Party organizations in min.stries, in offices, and in state, autonomous, and economic institutions strive to perfect the administrative apparatus, to strengthen work discipline, to combat bureaucracy and excesses, and to point out to higher party authorities the shortcomings of their institutions. Party organizations in these institutions, however, do not bear the direct responsibility for the fulfillment of all the tasks assigned to these institutions by the party and the government.

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The Central Committee confirms secretaries of primary party organizations in the ministries.

51. In enterprises and institutions where the number of party members and candidates exceeds 100, the institutional party organization organizes sectional organizations which are authorized by powiat committee decree.

Individual sectional organizations in institutional organizations can be granted the rights of a primary party organization by a decree of the wojewodztwo committee.

52. The highest authority of a primary party organization is a general meeting of its members.

29

Primary and sectional organizations of up to 15 members elect a first secretary and a second secretary to direct party work. Larger organizations elect an executive body of 3-7 persons, which in turn elects a first secretary and a second secretary.

Party organizations divided into sectional organizations and numbering less than 500 members elect an institutional committee of 7-11 persons at a general meeting. Organizations of over 500 members elect an institutional committee of 15-23 persons at an institutional conference at which delegates from sectional organizations participate; the institutional committee elects from its number an executive body of 7-9 persons, including a first secretary and a second secretary.

52. In enterprises and offices where the number of party members and candidates exceeds 100, the institutional party organization organizes sectional organizations which are authorized by powiat committee decree.

Individual sectional organizations of over 500 party members in production enterprises can be granted the rights of a primary party organization by a decree of the wojewodztwo committee.

53. [Identical.]

Primary organizations of up to 15 members elect a first secretary and a deputy. Larter organizations elect an executive body of 3-7 persons, which in turn elects a secretary and a deputy secretary.

The highest authority of an institutional party organization divided into sectional organizations, depending on the numerical strength of the organization, is either a general meeting of its members or an institutional party conference. Institutional organizations of up to FRO members call a general meeting which elects to institutional committee of 7-11 persons.

In institutional or calcations of over 500 members, an institutional constructe is called in which telegates of sectional organizations take part. The conference elects an institutional constitute of 15-23 persons. The institutional constitute elects an executive body of 7-11 persons from its number including a first secretary and a second secretary.

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The election of primary party organization authorities should be held once a year.

53. Primary and sectional party organizations hold periodic meetings at which they adopt resolutions pertianing to the work of the organization and particular members. Meetings of primary party organizations should take place not less than once a month.

Every party member should receive defined party tasks.

54. Party organizations of over 20 members can be divided into party groups according to their production affiliation (such as brigades, teams, rooms, etc.), to assure the active participation of members in the fulfillment of production plans and in agitation among the masses. The group is headed by an organizer elected by the group members by secret ballot.

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55. Party organizations in military units (land, air, and sea) operate on the basis of special instructions of the Central Committee. The Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, which operates as a division of the Central Committee, directs party work in the army.

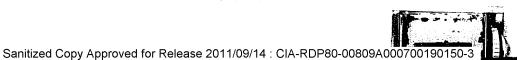
IX. The Party And The ZMP

 $56.\,$ The Polish United Workers Party directs the activities of the ZMP.

The election of primary party organization authorities should be held not less than once a year in agreement with higher party authorities.

54. Institutional, sectional, village, and local party organizations hold periodic meetings at which they discuss decrees pertaining to the work of the organization and particular members. Every party member should receive definite party tasks. Organizations of over 20 members can be divided into groups headed by a decurion, appointed by the executive of a given organization to stimulate the activity of all its members and to control their work.

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Adjoins page 30 here.7

The ZMP, a mass organization for the political training of the youth of the city and the village, is an active auxiliary of the party in the building of socialism. Party policy is the directive for the ZMP in all fields of its activities.

- 57. Party organizations should encourage extensive initiative by ZMF organizations in all problems pertaining to the improvement of the work of a given plant, enterprise, institution, village, or producers cooperative, in order to remove all deficiencies and indifference and to organize socialist competition and mass political campaigns.
 - X. Party Groups in People's Councils and Authorities of Social Organizations

32

- 58. Party members in people's councils, trade union organs, the ZSCh, cooperatives, and other social organizations form party grows. Party groups are also formed of party members participating in congresses of social organizations for the duration of the congress.
- The tack of party groups is to promote the party line in the given social organization, to deepen the authority and influence of the party amony nonparty people, to strengthen party and state discipline, to combat bureaucracy, and to activate the masses to fulfill the tasks presented by the party.
- X. Party Groups in People's Councils and Authorities of Social Organizations
- 55. Party members in people's councils form clubs under the direction cf the appropriate party committees.
- 56. Party members in the national, wojewodztwo, or powiat administrations of trade unions, the ZSCh, cooperatives, and other social organizations form party groups. Party groups are also formed of party members participating in congresses of social organizations for the duration of the congress.

The tark of party groups is to promote the party line in the given social organization, to deepen the authority and influence of the party, and to activate the masses to fulfill the tasks presented by the party.

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Adjoins page 31 here.

The group elects a secretary to direct the work of the group. The group acts under the direction of the party committee on the appropriate level.

XI. Party Funds

59. Party funds are accumulated from members' dues, gifts to the party, income from publications, and other sources. sources.

 $60.\,$ Party dues and other party pledges are determined by the Central Committee.

The group elects a chairman to direct the work of the group. The group acts under the direction of the party committee on the appropriate level.

XI. Party Funds

57. [Identical.]

58. [Identical.]

XII. Statute Changes

XII. Statute Changes
59. The Statute can be changed by a congress decree approved by a two-thirds majority.

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